1:Alkema & Bezemer--444 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Timor OF20
Flores OF9

[397 cont.]

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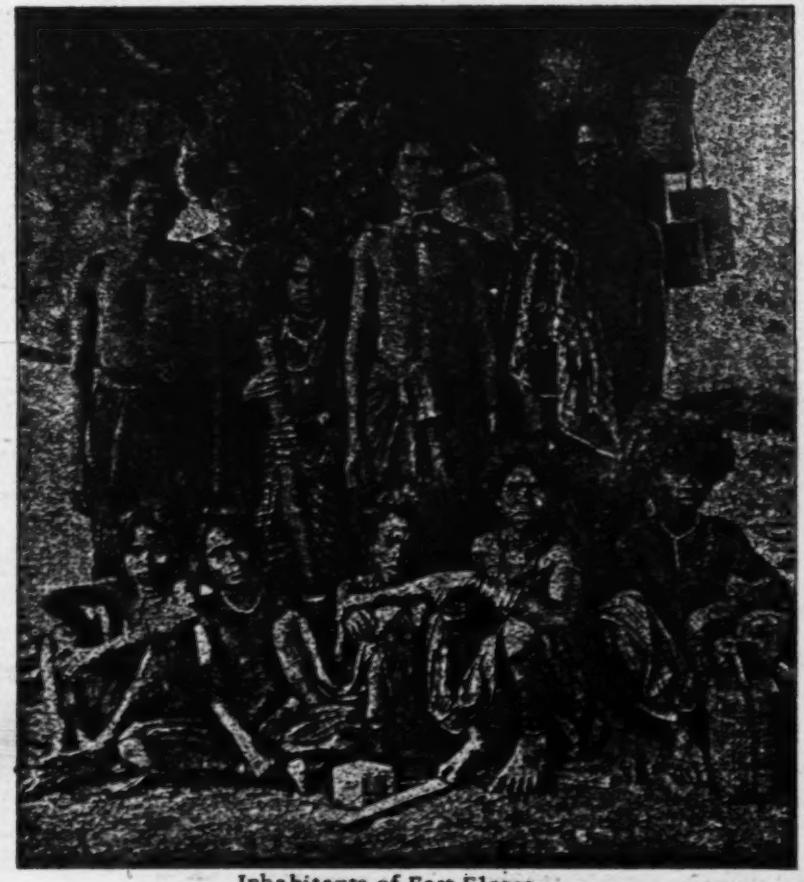

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Inhabitants of East Flores
Photo. Kol. Instituut. Coll. Leroux.

T
[342]

On Timor, for instance, the old-fashioned type of house is round, while the newer type is oval, and the houses of more prominent people and princes are square. [Illustration appears here.] According to Grijzen (1), the houses in North Tetoan (Béloe) in particular are oval in form.

1. Mededeelingen omtrent Béloe of Midden-Timor [Information concerning Béloe or Central Timor], 1904, p. 44.

1:Alkema & Bezemer--633 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Javanese OE5
Lesser Sundas OF1
Timor OF20
Flores OF9
Sumba OF37
J
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T
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714
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[564 cont.]

He puts the material and the puppet on a low, wooden anvil.

The figure is now cut out of the parchment by means of 15 little chisels and a small wooden hammer. When this has been done, the puppet is whitened all over with bone ash mixed with lime water and the ash from burned durian rinds. Then the puppet is painted in the various colors desired or it is gilded. When the painting and gilding are completed, it is varnished, dried between plates of plaited bamboo, clothed with a thick drill fabric, flattened, and attached to the bone handles. It is to be noted that it is painted on both sides.

Besides the making of wajang puppets, which on the whole must be called a very artistic craft, shields, too, are made of parchment. They are round and decorated with figures on the Southwestern Islands and on Timor, where meticulously worked cartridge pouches of the same material are also made and worn. Painting is also done here, but only in one color. The preparation of parchment is also known on Flores and Sumba.

Metalwork. Loeber is of the opinion that metalwork is one of the younger techniques in the archipelago. There is much to be said for this view. "Much of what a tropical people needs was found in abundance in the native flora, material that was ready for use with some simple processing" (1).

1. J.A. Loeber, Jr., Houtsnijwerk en Metaalbewerking in Nederlands Indië [Wood Carving and Metalwork in the Netherlands East Indies], Amsterdam, 1916, p. 31.

This does not alter the fact that the working of metals in some areas of the archipelago is very old. Cast work is probably the oldest form, but the forging of weapons has been practiced for centuries.

The trade of the weapon-smith, the only one that is immortalized on Hindu-Javanese reliefs, is represented at

634 Badjawa (the capital of Nageh Keo is Boawai). The Ngada radja is an old style man with thirty wives who hunts and does nothing else. A relative, a wakil, does the work. To the west is the Radja of Manggarai, with the capital at Ruteng. The Dutch Controleur, Degens, also resides in Ruteng. The former radja died three to four months ago, and the new one has not yet been installed.

361 I began by riding out along the road toward Badjawa, and got to a ford about fifteen kilometers out. On the way I saw plenty of small and disorderly looking kampongs, with a definitely different arrangement and house style from 515 any other of the places I have been. Also, I noticed that the people here are slovenly, dirty, and strange in appearance. This is a real mongrel zone, and neatness is noticeably lacking in the people and in the villages. On 771 this west side of Ende in the coastal kampongs the people are mainly Mohammedan. On the east side and into the mountains they are mainly Christian. But in both cases, there are just about as many pagans, and sometimes the pagans are in the majority.

563 The next day I rode out to the east and into 361 the mountains as far as Ndetosoko, high in the mountains. On the evening of the day before I ●291 rode out to the other side of the Ende peninsula 515 to Ipi beach. Along this stretch is a kampong made up mostly of Savunese. The houses are of a different style and the people are more like those from Roti in appearance (somewhat of a Hindu type), with sarongs having nice designs and horizontal patterns. I was told by the Controleur's wife that the Savunese are clean and are used here as babu, etc. The Savunese also keep their kampong clean and neat.

764 I stopped here and there along the road into the mountains of Lio and noted some remarkable

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764 565 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I must find out how the funerals are run now. Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even among the Catholics.

872 [797] There is a mission school here in the kampong. The assistant has finished five grades of schooling in Ndona.

291 178 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the men (old style) although this is changing fast, a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also [302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women, 286 531 and many people are presently weaving on back bar looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs are mostly small.

527 124 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan. Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they have a holiday whenever there is the slightest excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong is elected or chosen.

693 624 622 565 Also I forgot to say that there were some remarks about how, in an adat case, where the four mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

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764 178 It is done in one day now, because the body begins to smell otherwise.

144 361 [197] The physical types in the mountains, the Lio folk (who speak the same dialect as the Ende coastal dwellers but with a different accent, and they are really only a mountain branch of the Ende-Lio tribe) are mainly proto-Malay, or at least that's the way it seems to me. One can see this especially in the women, but also in many of the men. It seems that the more Melanesian and Papuan types are settled along the coast, which makes me wonder if maybe there might not have been a reverse movement of the black people from the Timor area into Flores, pushing the proto-Malay people back into the hills. There are plenty of Melanesian types, and Papuans, and even Australoid types in the hills, however, just as on the coast. I get the impression [181] that the mountain people are nicer, better looking, more polite, and perhaps even a little cleaner than the coastal dwellers.

609 197 771 I notice that these Roworeke lads, especially the guru, order the Lio folk around. They seem to be regarded as hillbillies. However, they speak the same language, and many mountain kampongs are one hundred per cent Catholic. In fact, I really wonder if maybe there might not be more pagans in Roworeke itself than in many if not most of the mountain kampongs. Certainly there seem to be more obviously pagans in Roworeke than I saw offhand in the mountain kampong. I 778 asked if the mountain kampong has a rumah pemali. They said yes, but that it is quite far off, near the main road. I didn't have time to see it.

● 291 286 Much of the clothing here is in the form of ikat work, and I can see some of this material woven on the local back bar looms (horizontal).

Much of the cloth is plain, unattractive, dark material. The ikat work, and also much of the plainly woven cloth, is dark and is used mainly

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291 for sarongs and slendangs [shawls worn over the
286 head or the chest]. I see plenty of tooth fil-
304 ing here. And nearly all the women, young and
276 old, have the awful looking betel teeth. The older men have the same betel teeth. The younger men seem to chew betel less, and I can see that their teeth are evened but are not filed down.

304 I saw a tattoo on the back of a woman and was
178 told that it is fairly common all over here. (I later noticed a young girl in Roworeke with an initial tattooed on her arm.) This tattooing, however, is no longer significant here. The design I saw looked like a kind of anchor design

291 Many of the women here, mainly the old but several of the young, go about with bare breasts. When working this seems to be quite common.

252 I saw several women pounding corn. They use
412 a small round tree trunk mortar, and for a pestle
462 a mere pole. The corn is small and brownish. They call it djagung Solor or mata kuching, and it does look like small cats' eyes [the meaning of the latter term, in Indonesian].

231 This area is full of goats. There are also many pigs and a fair number of buffaloes, but I saw no cattle. There are many small horses here too. High in the mountains I saw an amazing band of fine looking horses who had gone wild after escaping. They can never be recaptured. I was told that there are deer, wild pigs, and wild buffaloes here.

776 At the lakes I asked if it might not be a fine place for nitu and suwanggi, and they looked sharply. They reverted to this cautiously and asked me if I could see the spirits. They are going to be cagey about pagan ideas, but when they are caught off-guard they agree that there are probably spirits in this mysterious place.

961 The plazas are of pounded earth, bare, with houses scattered about and the most conspicuous things being the stone graves.

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778 They agreed that Ndoeria had rebuilt many rumah pemali. I must go there sometime.

574 Back in Roworeke, the kapitan gave us sweet soft drinks and port wine (Chinese). Then he put
291 on his adat dress, including a batik headcloth
386 which was winged in front, and a fine ikat slen-
[287] dang, and a woven sarong. There seems to be no more tapa around here. The colors of the woven and ikat stuff are dark, including blue, black, and dull red. They are not very attractive, and the cloth is quite heavy. I saw women with baskets full of leafy stuff (small leaves) and I asked what was inside. They said tarum [indigo] and that it is used to make the blue and black dye. Thus they still use locally made dyes, but in Roworeke the red dye is bought in a store.

126 I took a picture of the kapitan and his wife and family including the fine type old mother.
621 We then started on a tour of the kampong. We went first across the road to Watu Roga. It is small and evidently most of the Wanda suku are.
342 There is one large house, but most of the others
178 are rather small. They are not of the high pitched roof type. I was told that before the war there were more of the old high roof type, but the Japanese leveled many of them to make the people move into the hills as they said the population was too dense near the town. I can't quite get the point, but new houses tend to be low, four sloped roofed, rather long and squat in type, but still look primitive because of the alang-alang thatched roof and many with the coconut leaf midrib walls. The walls, however, are usually low or invisible because they are under the low-hanging roof. Hence they are hooded.

349 In Watu Roga there is a high concrete struc-
769 ture looking something like a watchtower with
614 steps leading up. It has a four-sloped tin roof.
766 There is a low wall around a small rectangular space under the roof. The flooring is of tile,

We.

771 I see many old pagan men and women here, unlike in Leloba. They wear necklaces, earbells, and ikat sarongs. I saw one old man getting gin with bamboos. Many women here go about bare breasted.

304 Most people have their teeth filed. They are flattened.

621 The kepala kampong, who has sore eyes, say
124 that Leloba and Wailolong were combined in the negri lama. There is still much intermarriage and a very close relationship between these two. Later, when I got to work with the guru and he saw that I needed to get every name, etc., he was scared and said that it is easy if he has to do this in his kampong but hard in Wailolong. Thus there is a big gulf between even nearby kampongs. This question took us until 7:30 to talk over and we are still in trouble.

124 I knew this morning that I should not take a
123 man who is not a member of my kampong, but he is
115 so good in other ways that I yielded to the priest. It is clear that the main rule in this kind of research is: never take an assistant who does not live in the kampong. If you do he will not be received easily and he does not know the local gossip and intimate personal matters which would prove helpful. Also, I can't sit in his house in the kampong, and this is important for impressions. I may be able to work out a compromise at greater cost by using the Leloba guru but another assistant in Wailolong. This is a mess and from now on I follow my instinct on choosing an assistant. We finally left after dark.

797 At noon today I went to the mission headquarters to get gas. It alone has any, because V. and W. has no trucks here. I can see that the mission has everything. It is really the administration here. The pasanggrahan boy said that the Catholics here do not use the name "Christ" because this is taken to mean Protestant. In-

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796 done in an excited pagan style, although on the
535 occasion of a Christian festival. We saw
144 clearly the difference between East and West Flores as far as racial composition is concerned. As you pass into Lio hills the proto-Malay becomes much more marked, though the Negroid element is still there. Some of the women are remarkably white. Such women are seldom or never seen in East Flores.

797 About the Malay here: When they want to say someone is converted, in Larantuka, they say that he "ikut Rom" [follows Roma]. The titles
554 are interesting: the territorial priest of
793 Flores is Tuan Regionale; then there are the Tuan Boswesen, Tuan Landbouw, Njonja HPB, Njonja AR (Assistant Resident), Njonja and Tuan Bestuur (Bestuurshoofd), and for a nun
[792] they do not use Njonja, but Tuan Zuster.

647 Note: The Controleur here is C. B. Arriens.

342 Although there is a general similarity in house style all over East and Central Flores, there are differences. The tremendous high roofs are typical of Lio and Ende. The flat and large four-sloped ridges are found in Larantuka, and in between, in Sikka and Tana Ai, there is an intermediate form, with the four-slope ridge a bit on the rounded off side, and the whole thing appears to be smaller.

411 In East Flores especially the bow is still
224 used. We met a large band on Christmas not far
126 from Larantuka with bows and spears. They were coming up from a kampong with a large church. I asked if they were going to war or to hunt, and they said they were going to hunt deer. I took a photograph of them. They are always glad to be photographed. I can hardly take photographs, however, because they all rush in to be included, especially the children.

291 The style of clothing changes from place to
184 place, though here again there is a general

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291 184 similarity. The ikat work and weave patterns of sarongs especially show certain differences. 302 482 In Sikka the children have the front half of their hair shaved. Here also the women and children usually employ a tumpline.

[527] 123 We had one day in Roworeke as December 27 was Independence Day. We left for Badjawa on the latter, after a ceremony. As appears to be usual in Roworeke, which is a most annoying environment with constant requests for jeep rides and a general lack of respect, the kapitan and a large group had to be taken first to kilometer 10 where they had a garden. The kapitan and the kepala kampong pleaded that we come to haul them to Ende for the ceremony tomorrow, but we refused firmly. Today the kepala kampong [292] wore a woman's felt hat with a chin string. 304 His wife who is pregnant had a tattoo over her arm, but it consisted of a name and random marks. I see this sort of thing everywhere. The old patterns seem to have gone. Today the thing to have tattooed is your name. Then we went back to Roworeke and went to work in the "office" which was full of flies and people.

621 361 The kampongs in Roworeke are as follows (the area extends from kilometer posts 5 to 8):

1. Nuamere (kilometer 7; the kapitan's area)
2. Bita (across the road, north of Watu Roga)
3. Kopoëdo (inside from Nuamere)
4. Puüdjambu (same)
5. Roworeke Asal (same)
6. Ae Boü (along the road below Nuamere)
7. Ae Utu (along the road below Ae Boü)
8. Wolomere (across the road from Ae Utu; the secretary's area)
9. Tana Ri (kilometer 6)
10. Ndetu (kilometer 5; many Ende folk live here)

[i.e., Kennedy and Kattenburg--Analyst]

487 of dirty, mixed kampongs, and then went up along the cliffs over the sea to Nangapanda. Then the road headed into the mountains, and after
[361] a long stretch which appeared to be practically uninhabited (as usual between the coast and mountain folk, here as in the Toradja country),
797 and finally we arrived in Badjawa. Before we reached Badjawa we saw a large mission station at Todabelu, where there were many modern buildings, a seminary, and a model farm as well as a trade school. All of these were notably advanced over anything else we have seen in Flores. As usual, it is connected with the
526 mission. In Badjawa there was a great crowd for the day, and football games were held. These are the great sport all over Indonesia now, and it is coming even into the remote kampongs. It is the national sport [i.e., soccer].

We saw here the dirty but spirited Ngada,
291 with dull clothes. The adat dress, however, is striking, especially that of the men. It consists of a dark blue cloak and a red headcloth.
304 We also noted that a lot of the people had filed teeth, and in addition many had blackened them. Earboring is a general practice here, but as usual the younger men may have the holes but no rings. (For example, the assistant in Roworeke is like this and so is the younger guru in Le-
[771] loba.) This is a pretty primitive looking lot, although most of them are Christian.

361 The Ngada kampongs are hard to see as they
342 are nearly all behind bamboo thickets. Ngada houses are rectangular with low hanging hooded roofs. They are built on piles definitely, unlike Ende (or at least most of the houses in
[778] Ende) and Larantuka. In these kampongs there are not many stones that I could see, but as
769 yet I have not seen a kampong fully. Notable
346 are the inverted pyramid-like ancestor houses built on a single post. They are called nadu

We
771 the young folk are Christian. Most of the old
[624] people are largely pagan however. There are no other obvious signs of pagan religion in the lower kampong. The same goes for Weol.
342 Here there are more round houses, but the new ones are all rectangular. At the entrance of
778 the kampong there is a mound which I must ask about. It looks as though it might have been a cult hill. Then there is the holy tree and the stones around it. The photo, of the stone figure, Ine Amba, which Vroklage gives as from Weol, is really from a kampong which can be seen across the rice fields.

621 There are many old people here, including two
[624] remarkable old men, one of whom is one of the two tuan tanah in the kampong. This is a double kampong, with two main parts, and it has therefore two tuan tanah. The children here are
[515] dirty and so are the adults, for the most part.
[231] There are pigs all over. However, the houses
[361] are better spaced than, for example, in Larantuka kampongs. The people here have poor clothes,
[291] and many, especially the women, were seen with
304 filed teeth and some of them with teeth beautifully blackened. We noticed no tattooing nor cutting.

243 Looking off from the high kampong one can see the wet rice fields below. These are in wedge shapes with a common center. There are many adjacent, star-shaped arrangements. This is unique in Indonesia. The priest says this is because it is easier to fence them in this fashion, but I suspect there is some cosmological significance, perhaps reflected in the circular houses too. The houses have all sorts of decorations
342 on top of them. The round ones seem to have an
531 upright wooden thing on them. The rectangular ones have at the ridge ends a stylized pair of wooden horns, often with a bird in the middle, and some with two birds, one at each horn tip.

1 [See pp. 390-91 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography cat. 113--Analyst]

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534 drums and gongs were brought here from several
535 kampongs. They are the real tuan tanah articles.
[624] At one time three little girls danced with their eyes downcast and with very little movement of the feet. They wore slendang and nice
[292] dresses. The oldest man, looking like a nickel head Indian, had on an amazing costume with rich embroidery, and a silver fringe under his chin like a beard. For a head decoration he had a gilded horse. He also carried two kris, and each of the other men had one.

526 Now, at 6 P.M., after all day of it, taking turns, the men are still whipping. This is a tireless business.

609 We get the impression of real remoteness
178 here. These men are from the kampong nearby, and in this large bowl of distant mountains they are in their old dress doing the weird old practices and it has little to do with modern freedom and independence. When we go to such a place they look more at us than at the performers. We steal the show. But this is so all over Indonesia for whites. And they stare at us endlessly.

304 The tuan tanah of Weol has an elaborate set of patterns tattooed on his arms.

● 291 The Manggarai men often wear plaited, flat, songko-like headgear.

231 The horses here are important. Men and women
492 ride them, but mainly the former. The whole
[133] open land looks like the wild West. The priests use only horses here. They are small and spirited and bells are usually placed around their necks.

614 The next day we went again to Weol and asked
[624] if the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong were really brothers. If so, how could they belong to different panga. I found out that they are not brothers but merely distantly related.

The three panga names in Weol are the names

582 565 firm in stating that one had to marry within the same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoë, but I forget the terms for the others. [587] They say that a lower man may never marry up, [567] but that a higher man may marry down for a second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 144 The people are quite handsome and many of them are of the proto-Malay type. There are relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned [515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not [197] so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

● 291 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are 304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears. [276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments [301] in their ears today. Only the holes are noted. We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name [177] tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

764 565 The burials here, I think, and certainly in Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners, but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mereschappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

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178 In terms of technology and occupation, there
463 have been very few changes. They still farm
in the old way, and there have been no new jobs
342 created. There are today such houses as the
178 kapitan's, with a bit of cement work. This is
354 new. And every house has a pelita [a kind of
lamp] for which they buy kerosene. Few of
them have any real lamps like the kapitan's.
The assistant has one, but it is typically out
291 of order. Shirts here are new, but they are
178 rare and cost much. Shoes are new here and
[413] are very rare. Pens, etc., are extremely rare.
The women no longer wear the homespun blouses.
They wear homespun sarongs like the men do,
but buy kebaya of thinner cloth today.

286 They cannot make thin cloth with their
looms, and this is a great handicap. What
they make is too heavy. This is mainly a mat-
ter of thread. They can't spin thread any
thinner than they do and have it strong enough
so that it will not break in the loom. Thus,
if they could get trade thread, they might be
able to weave thinner cloth (?).

[346] The only tin roofs are on the grave-bone
shrines of Odja and Wanda.

Every woman spins thread and weaves. There
are no specialists, however, who sell cloth.
This is done only rarely.

463 There are no smiths or specialists of any
326 kind. There were about twenty men who worked
563 at making pots here, and this started evidently
about two years ago. It was a Chinese company
(evidently tied in with the Radja some way),
and these lads worked in their spare time. As
there are no orders now, they are working
there no longer. It is not a native craft.

241 The most important local agricultural crop
and food source is maize, by far. Then come
rice, vegetables, and yams. There is no sago;
000 they have never heard of it. Little meat is

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243 he came back, he at once made a sawah, and the
177 others saw that it was good. Now, everyone
788 plants at least one sawah. Formerly there were no sawah. This is an excellent case of acculturation via the hadj.

412 Formerly the people here did not use hoes
177 or shovels. These came in at the time of the Dutch entry. Before that they had an iron tipped digging stick only. There are no carts.
493 They thought about my proposal for a group to buy one as an investment for hiring. Perhaps there is too little money even to pay for a bicycle here.

352 There are no tables, chairs, or lamps, ex-
354 cept in rare houses like the kapitan's. The
178 only new thing is the kerosene wick, not the lamp. It is called pelita.

342 The house type has changed here from a
178 larger to a smaller structure, and many of the old style roofs are still to be seen.

291 Women now use bought cloth to make thin
178 kebaya. Formerly they made blouses of homespun, but these are all gone. Men and women still wear homespun sarongs. Men wear this alone and are usually bare above the waist. If a man wears a selendang, he is a big man. If he wears a shirt, this is really very slick attire. There were no shoes here at all before, and few now.

301 Men and women wore earrings before, the men
753 ones of gold (look like silver) which the pagans still wear, and the women ones of a different
[304] style. The assistant's ears are pierced, but this is no longer done to the boys, only to the girls. Beads are worn by men and women on festive occasions. These are great ceremonial objects and are worn by the people who are proud of them. If one is not entitled to them, he will become sick if he wears a string of beads.

Wa. There are about ten
326 smiths (are they full time? I doubt it).

241 As before, rice and corn are the staple
177 crops. There has been practically no change except for the introduction of new kinds of bananas, peanuts, and a few vegetables, in
[433] the diet. The local community is still almost one hundred per cent self sufficient.
283 They even make their own thread from their own cotton, although they may buy some thread today.

178 There has been practically no change at all since Vatter's book was written. In Wailolong they still have a tuno wudjo.

[352] Fifty years ago there were no tables or chairs, and there are only a few now. There
●291 has been a little change in regard to cloth-
178 ing, especially in that a few men now wear shirts. And a few men also have shoes; there were none before.

A few women wear European dresses; no one wore such dress formerly. They could not sew at all fifty years ago, and there is still not a single sewing machine in Wailolong.

438 A few of the women sell some vegetables and some arak. They buy small quantities of thread, salt, hairpins, soap, medicine, and tobacco. The mountain people sell some of their forest products.

443 There has been no change at all in the mar-
178 ket system here except for the disappearance
437 of the Delang pasar. This was mostly or entirely a barter pasar. Cash is used at the Okka pasar. Up until seven years ago the Delang pasar was still used. There are no toko or warong here.

483 Very few people have ever ridden in a car here. Roy guesses that at the very most one per cent of the population has had such an experience.

423 The kinds of property in terms of land here are the following: kampong (which is "owned"
[See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

We I note also that
554 there is a kind of mark of "upperness" in the
[177] wearing of European shirts by the men! This
291] probably holds for the European dress worn by
some women too.

195 Roy says that in Larantuka town there is a high and a low language, but I wonder if this may not mean that there is merely a polite idiom. Here in this area they all speak the same language, but use fancier language in the
[554] ceremonies. The only titles are those of the listed posts. One must be respectful to the uppers.

614 The whole rank system depends on genealogi-
565 cal descent. There are no rules in regard to interclass marriage, and everything depends upon the suku system.

634 The Radja of Larantuka is a descendant of
565 the Ili, just as the other folk are. He is a bit mixed up with Timor, via Pategolo. And the Radja kedua is from Kroko Putang. However, the entire upper "nobility" is really integrated with the commoners. That is, there is no heaven descent. They are just like the other people, except genealogically they are ranked a bit higher. All power also depends on descent.

793 In 1905 the first guru of Leloba, Bala, started his religious work. He had been converted before this at the school in Larantuka. At that time there were priests in Larantuka.

361 In 1912 a church was built at the kampong lama of Riang Kamiñ (this is another example of how much and how recently these kampongs have been moved from place to place). In fact, only in these years, all kampongs except Lewoneda were still in the hills. Wailolong was moved from the hills to the beach in 1913. At that time a guru was sent to Wailolong, and in 1922 or 1923 Wailolong moved to the present location.

Wae

241 178 [493] plow came in only five years ago. Still, there are no wheeled vehicles. They cannot make them.

291 178 Fifty years ago men dressed only in loincloths. Only the rich had pants or sarongs. They also had shoulder cloths. There has been no change in the dress for women. They used the same kilt down to just below the knees as they use today. Now, however, more women dress in sarongs and kebaya. Pants, shirts, kebaya and sarongs are carefully kept for special events. They are really one's "best," and they are not plentiful. Nevertheless, nearly everyone owns something of this sort.

There is probably not a single pair of shoes in the two kampongs.

[287] Formerly, a long time ago, they used tapa. And in the Japanese time the people made tapa again. They also made wooden hats. The tapa making was pre-Dutch.

[301] [304] In remoter areas a few loincloths are still seen. So are earrings, rings, and bracelets (no leglets). Men never puncture the ear lobe.

302 301 292 The style of cutting the hair short for men came in only twenty years ago. Formerly the men were great for beads. Now they are of little importance. The festive ceremonial clothes I saw in Ruteng on the dancers are pusaka. They are mostly men's pusaka. The horns are made of buffalo hide.

304 178 Tattooing (tikam) is brand new. It came in only ten to fifteen years ago and is now going out. It was done by men who learned how, that's all. However, it is just about gone, and there were not very many people who had tattoos at any time.

304 178 562 881 Women always puncture their ear lobes. Both sexes file their teeth, and this must be done before marriage. Some young people (for example, the assistant) do not do this, but they

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476 to obtain the bride price, but also in such
602 cases as the building of a new big house. The
614 va'u helps with the costs of a wedding feast.
[585] The rona get animals for their women, and the vina give animals for theirs. The return gifts go in the opposite direction: the rona give the gifts and the vina receive them.

I get the impression that there is more to it than just this simple roundabout exchange. Thus, a family has several relations of rona and vina, and the same ones will not always be involved in a given marriage. The ones not directly involved evidently help out, or can be called upon to help in a marriage in which they are not directly involved. But this is not too clear to me. Cornelius[1] says that the whole thing is quite a burden, as when they are called upon they must give this aid. The nearer the groups live, the more they are called upon. If they are far off, this is not too much of a burden.

582 There are no marriages here with foreigners,
583 but in other places a few Manggarai women have married Chinese men. These are definitely not liked. They are "lost." They are outside the adat and the magic circle.

582 At the time of marriage, local males are six-
● 291 teen (some are fifteen to twenty-one years old.
178 The majority fall within the age groupings six-teen to seventeen. Females, at the time of their marriage, are fourteen to twenty years old. Formerly they married later. The youngest was about nineteen (I think this was for males). He says that this was because they "got clothes" when they were older. The boys did not even wear loincloths until about the age of sixteen. The girls wore only a little cloth from about the age of twelve on. This was because it was so hard to get clothes. They married only two to three years after getting clothes. The rich

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

Wae

582 people married earlier, because they got their
291 clothes earlier. Cornelius[1] says that until
178 about twenty-five years ago you could see quite old and young people going about naked. He remembers this. They do not like too young marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if the partners are too old.

[561] There are no age grades.

614 The Veol clan is very large, but there are clans which are even larger. Not a single clan has ever become extinct. However, some panga have. There is one such panga in Veol.

562 Formerly, the position of women was really
178 low, like that of slaves. Now they are a little
584 higher. Today there is a beginning in the direction of freer choice in marriage. Formerly all marriages were arranged by the elders.

611 The system here is all patrilineal, and there have been no changes.

162 In 1930, Cornelius[1] says, there were five thousand extra women in all Manggarai. I will check the records for the ratio.

587 The levirate obtains if there is a widow. If
768 there is no brother, her family must take her back, and pay one horse. The children stay with the dead father's family. If the levirate goes through, the man pays one horse.

[583] If a widow remarries to a man other than the brother of her deceased husband, the price must be paid to the family of the dead husband, and the "bonds" are "broken." The sororate is not required. The bride price is required in the case of a sororate. It is quite usual, because the sister of the deceased is accustomed to the widower and his children. The children of course stay with the father's family always.

586 There is not much divorce, but it did occur and still does.

[587] The main cause of divorce is discord, not barrenness, as in this case a man simply gets another wife.

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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567 are no more "slaves."

The dalu of Reo, who is the grandson of the last radja naib, or proconsul, of Bima in Reo (and thus he is sore that he is not the radja of Manggarai) when I asked him if he knew about the Do Donggo, said that they were actually descendants of Manggarai slaves who had escaped or who were let loose into the mountains of Sumbawa. I asked if they spoke the Manggarai language, and he said no, they had forgotten it. I suspect this, but it is interesting and might bear further looking into.

555 There is little chance for one to move within the social system here. The only chance I see is by becoming a guru, but so far no one from Veol or Ndung has become a guru. I note that there are a couple of policemen from here who have gone to Kupang and Ende. And the boy who went to Makassar they said had worked here for a Chinese. Then he just went along with him to Makassar. They agreed that he might make his way ahead there in the big world.

565 There are pusaka kris, and costumes, but
● 291 they appear mainly at feasts. One can see them
177 then. Otherwise, there is just about no dif-
554 ference in clothing between one class and another, and I get the impression that even formerly there was not much in this regard. However, I note that nowadays, for everyday appearances, here and everywhere I go, the new mark of the new middle class is a European shirt or dress, perhaps shoes, pants, etc. And of course most significant is a fountain pen and brief case. I can see this even when an old type lad has higher rank and his assistant is, for example, a Minahasa government worker. The latter, because of his education, patronizes the former, although he observes the proper respect indulgently. The dress marks the difference. Where the chief is also European

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565 291 177 554 dressed, e.g. the kapitan of Roworeke, he is not dominated by an "assistant." However, he dominates (cautiously as yet) the adat dressed mosa laki. This is interesting.

565 576 The Pongkor kraeng said that manners differ by class, and he may be right. However, I met a rough kraeng in Anam. And I think that he was from Todo too. Todo ones have a reputation of being more refined than those from Pongkor. All this probably does not mean very much.

[195] 576 178 Special words are used as part of the language of ceremonies and rites. However, this is merely a matter of occasion. In the old days real respect was shown for the Bima dignitaries, the kraengs, etc. When one approached a kampong where there was a kraeng, one had to dismount from one's horse and remove one's shoulder cloth down to the hips, where it was wound around, leaving the torso bare.

[689] If one did not show the proper respect formerly, a whole kampong might be made lampang. Thus, enslavement was the great mass punishment. Even today there is still a bit of feeling in regard to the rank of the kraeng, although it is nothing like what it was before.

554 621 614 There are grades of pride on the kampong level, and thus Veol feels a bit higher than its branch kampong Tjantjar. Also, Veol va'u feels a bit better than the incoming va'u Tjepang. But this is not a real formulization.

565 582 There are no approved marriages with mendi. This is still very bad. It is possible to marry with other kinds of "slaves" (e.g., lampang). There are a number of such cases now in Veol. Everyone, up to the radja, may marry everyone else except the mendi. There are plenty of such mixed marriages, and even the radja has a commoner for a wife. Here again one can see the ordinary quality of the radjas